CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

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2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan 173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

4:Grodekov--4 E-5 (ca. 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

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The father of the Kirgiz sprang from a mirage (sagym). He reigned among the Kazakhs and married one of their girls, from whom he had a single daughter. The father appointed 40 female servants to her. At one time the Khan's daughter came with her 40 servants to a great river, where she noticed floating foam. As they watched the foam the girls heard words coming from it: "You are right and I am right" (antalkhak mende ak). (2) Out of curiosity the

2. The form of these words is more correct in the History of the Khanate of Kokand by V. P. Nalivkin, p. 15: ana el'khak mana el'khak (and that is the truth and this is the truth). The story is also found in Puteshestvie po Okrainam Russkoi Azii/ A Journey through the Borderlands of Russian Asia/ by M. Venukov, St. Petersburg, 1868. p. 155.

maidens dipped their fingers in the foam and then licked them, and it soon turned out that all of them were with child. Khan Sagym expelled them to the high mountains for he did not wish to kill them. Finding food in the mountains, they gave birth to 40 sons and 40 daughters, a total offspring of 80. When they grew up, these children married among each other. The people which took form from them became called the Kyrgyz (kyrk-kyz, 40 maidens). The Kirgiz remained living in the mountains and the Kazakhs in the valley. In the course of time some of the Kirgiz became famous and left clans to follow them, others degenerated and disappeared without forming clans. The name of one clan chief was Ung /On/ (the right), the name of another Sol (the left). The first descended from the daughter of a khan, and the other from the daughter of a vizir. Kirgiz clans descended from both of them.

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The Kazakh nobles or white bone (ak suyek, tiuria, sultan) do not reckon themselves as belonging to one horde or to one clan. They do not divide into lineage (undivided, "tagk"). They are descendants of khans ruling in the steppes, for example, Ablai-Khan. According to Sultan Daulet Bushaev of the Perovsk uyezd, the Tiuri are descendants of the Caliph Abbas (ibni Appas), and at the same time also descendants of Chingiz Khan. /Inserted Plate 3/4 Caption: The white bone.

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Sadyk, son of Kenisary Kasimov. /

/5/ One of the local singers, by the name of Maikut, relates that a certain princess whose father never let her go out, but kept her shut up in a dark room, became pregnant from an accidental ray of the sun which entered. Her father threw her into the water, but a hunter named Dompol saved her from it. From the ray she bore the chief of the clan of the ruling families (Chingiz Khan), and from Dompol she bore the sons Burgeltai, Budanatai, Tabanatai and Targaitai, from whom the Tiuri among the Kazakhs are descended.

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565 The present Tiuri (nagz tiuria) are considered to be those whose mothers as well as fathers were of the white bone.

Hodjas and Seids also belong to the white bone. Hodjas are considered to be the descendants of the fellow champions of the prophet, and the Seiidy, who are not numerous among the Kazakhs, are considered to be descendants of the son of Hussein, the imam of Zeinulabuddin, and therefore the best of the hodjas.

The hodjas live in tents around holy places, for example, Baba-Ata, in the Turkestan uyezd, in the northern spurs of the Kara-Tau. They are engaged in agriculture, transport and learning, and bear more resemblance to Sarts. There are also hodjas from the nomadic Kazakhs, in the Kurama uyezd, around Toi-Tyube among other places. There are no hodjas among the Kirgiz of the Auliye-Ata uyezd and the Fergana region.

In contrast to the white bone, the remainder of the people are called black bone, kara suyek, and also subjects, karashi, pukara.

The law at present, and the customary law as an example of it, makes no distinction between the white bone and the remainder of the people. When the aksuiaks are courteous, they are shown special respect. But when there is friction with them they are told: "We too are given freedom; when we are treated roughly we reply roughly." (Mikebai, bii of the Perovsk uyezd). In the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the privileges of the white bone are absolutely denied.

Marriages are now concluded between the white and the black bone without obstacle. As before, however, the woman of the higher /6/ estate who marries one of the black bone loses her estate advantages and undergoes a curse (Sultan Daulet Bushaev).

The Tulenkut were clients and riders /dzhigit/ from the poor, serving the Tiuri and being adopted by them. Formerly they served for the allotment of property (inchi), or for a bride price or in general

Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [973] [926]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] 648 668 [904]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 289-300.
[2] For a summary, see Togzhanov, 1934, passim.

choice of the figure Alash, the founding ancestor of Kazakhdom, reflects the general structure of Kazakh society. In reviving its cultural heritage, a society established on the principle of patrilineal descent and organized according to carefully traced genealogies naturally would seek to re-emphasize those genealogies and to glorify the founding ancestors, whether mythical, fictional, or actual. Mythical Alash was not, at least not entirely, for he lived in the time of Tamerlane. It is not clear that he is the ancestor of all Kazakhs, or even of all Kazakhs of the "white-bone" or nobility. He is the founding ancestor of all Kazakhs by a convenient fiction, a fiction which includes the descent lines of the nobles, for only a few of the nobility can demonstrate an actual descent from Alash. Nevertheless, he counts as the ancestor of all, and as such he enters the shadowy domain of half-myth, half-history, which suits the temper of the present Kazakh traditionalism admirably.

Descent from a wolf and a doe is no longer an acceptable expression for one's lineage; the world of the steppe has become disenchanted. But a great historical figure out of the past—distant enough and glorious enough—is a suitable expression of the Kazakh quest for social, political, and cultural unity. The emergence of Alash as a battle cry, the invoking of a distant ancestor in the formation of a modern party, is a Kazakh solution peculiarly their own. The concern of the Kazakh historians of the 1940's with similar figures, in this instance the leaders of resistance to the Russian conquest, emerges from the same cultural theme, with certain additions. The figures of the 19th century Kazakh rebels, Kenesary, Srym, Taimanov, and the others, are ancestors taken from the past. They are the ancestors of many descent lines whose living members are conscious of the relationship; they are symbols of an anti-Russian movement.